SALK POLIO VACCINE: WILL IT BE A BOON OR BIG BUSINESS BOOM? . . . P. 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

10 cents

the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 7, No. 27 NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 25, 1955

There were tears . . . but mostly cheers

This was one 8-year-old's reaction to the anti-polio vaccine, but millions of parents were infinitely comforted by last week's news. For developments, see p. 3.

WILL GERMANY BE NEXT?

The Soviet-Austria accord is a victory for peace

By Tabitha Petran

CHANCELLOR JULIUS RAAB of Austria—occupied for seven years by Hitler and for ten by troops of the four World War II allies—returned to Vienna April 15 from "completely successful" negotiations in Moscow on a treaty with his country. The agreement reveals the slow erosion of the foundations of the West's "positions of strength," sets back its policy of splitting Europe. It comes at a time when Secy. Dulles has yet to recover from his "nasty shock" (Walter Lippmann, 4/14) when he saw "how frail are the Asian reeds which we are leaning upon" in the Far East.

Seeking to hide its significance, Western propaganda mills represent the Soviet-Austria agreement as the result of a "sudden turnabout" in Soviet policy. In fact it resulted mainly from Austrian acceptance of Soviet terms presented at the Berlin conference in Feb., 1954, and rejected then under Western pressure. Key Soviet terms, then as now, were Austrian neutrality and independence — i.e., guarantees against a new "Anschluss" with Germany, against participation in any military alliance and foreign bases on Austrian soil.

TROOPS OUT THIS YEAR: The Western claim that the U.S.S.R. at Berlin made the end of the Austrian occupation conditional on conclusion of a German peace treaty is not borne out by the record. What Foreign Minister Molotov proposed there was to end the occupation with signing of the Austrian treaty; to withdraw four-power troops from Vienna but let them remain in Austria, under a legal status to be negotiated with the Austrian government, "to prevent attempts at a new Anschluss." These forces

> ". . . shall not be occupation forces and shall not perform occupation functions, nor shall they interfere in the affairs of the Austrian Administration or in the social and political life of the country."

Timing of these forces' final withdrawal would be reviewed "not later than 1955," Molotov promised. Austria and the U.S.S.R., having now reviewed the question, are agreed on withdrawal of all troops when the treaty is signed and not later than Dec. 31, 1955. The major Soviet economic concession offered now—payment of reparations in kind rather than in dollars—was also offered at Berlin.

WEST FEARS "NEUTRALISM": Austria's acceptance of previously re-

(Continued on Page 10)

Francois in Tribune des Nations

"As for public opinion, pretend you don't know that it knows."

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Will for peace links majority of humanity at Bandoeng parley

By Kumar Goshal

IN the mountain resort of Bandoeng on its main island, Java, the ten-year-old Republic of Indonesia welcomed on April 18 nearly 2,000 delegates to the 29-nation Afro-Asian conference —and over 400 correspondents, 66 from the U.S. alone. Indonesia's President Soekarno noted that the day marked the 180th anniversary of Paul Revere's ride and of

> ". . . the opening of the American war of independence. . . . That battle . . . is not yet completely won, and it will not have been completely won until we can survey our own world and can say that colonialism is dead."

Soekarno called for an end to nuclear weapons experiments, referred to the Geneva conference on Indo-China as a way to solve conflicts peacefully. He said the conference, representing the majority of the world's population, could demonstrate to the minority its will "for peace, not for war."

UNRUFFLED CHOU: Trying to avoid such controversial issues as Israel and Formosa, the sponsors persuaded the conference to adopt a five-point agenda: economic and cultural co-operation, human rights, problems of dependent peoples, and promotion of world peace and co-operation. Nevertheless, Iraq's Fadhil al-Jamali—fresh from signing the U.S.-sponsored pact with Turkey—strongly attacked Israel, French colonial policy in Africa, and "the Communists' new form of colonialism much deadlier than the old." Egypt's Nasser also attacked Israel, added a demand for the right of all nations to choose their political and economic systems.

Asked if he planned to answer attacks against the "Communist bloc," Chinese Premier Chou En-lai said: "I did not come here to quarrel. I came for the success of all the people here."

"FRIENDLY VISITS": When he made his speech, Chou said his country was not interested in "subversive activities" but instead was being "subverted by the U.S. If you do not believe this . . . send representatives to China to take a look. You are all welcome." Declaring that China was ready to establish normal relations with other Asian and African countries, including Japan, Chou proposed "that the governments, parliaments and peoples' organizations of [these] countries make friendly visits to each other's countries." Complying with the conference sponsors' desires, Chou said he was not going to bring up the issue of Formosa and off-shore islands. He added:

> "If nations give us assurance not to interfere in each other's internal

(Continued on Page 4)

Gordon in Bandoeng

Eugene Gordon, the GUARDIAN's associate editor for civil liberties and Negro affairs, on leave of absence as a free-lance writer and correspondent, arrived in Jakarta, Indonesia, by KLM airliner at 3 a.m. Tues. (EST) to cover the Bandoeng Conference. His trip was financed by private subscription. His reports on the conference will appear in the GUARDIAN and other publications.

Afro-American, Baltimore

WHAT'S COOKING OVER THERE?

John Bull: They didn't invite me.
Uncle Sam: Me neither. They don't want us.

'A Rebirth of Freedom'

TWO FULL PAGES OF COVERAGE OF

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee Conference in N. Y.

PAGES 6-7

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Anti-Dulles vaccine

NEW YORK, N. Y.

What was done to polio by Salk
Can be done to war by talk.

Vic

The only defense

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I send you this correspondence about the H-bomb tests with Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Lewis W. Strauss:

"My dear Mr. Strauss: In answer to my letter to the President petitioning him to cease the H-bomb tests which are endangering even future generations, you say: '. . . the improvement of our means of self-defense are a paramount duty of our government.' For your information there is no defense against the H-bomb. Peace is the only alternative to destruction.

"Two thousand years ago Christ gave us the formula for the making and maintaining of Peace. Why do we, a so-called Christian nation, refuse to use it? Why do we continue to use the instruments of the devil? Cease the H-bomb tests."

Atlantis Marshall

Teen-age wisdom

EAST WILLISTON, N. Y.

Although we are only in our early 'teens, we feel that our opinions should be considered. We think the GUARDIAN reveals that some people care about the truth. It's hard to understand that one paper can be so fair and the majority of others are untruthful and heartless. In all the political matters that concern the people, your paper has been brave enough to print the facts undisguised. Some people are satisfied with the so-called democracy in America. Well, we're not! We've got a lot to achieve before we can call ourselves a real democracy.

If more people read your paper they would be guided to a better America.

Nan B. and Wini G.

Texas victory, but . . .

LONGVIEW, TEX.

Two school district victories in a row—both favorable to the colored residents—were too much for some of the die-hard white supremacists. Recently, when I stopped by the small home of Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Thompson (Negro leaders in the recent elections), I learned that their family jalopy and the school bus (which Mr. Thompson drives) had been riddled with bullets the night before.

Both vehicles were parked in front of the Thompson home but fortunately, none of the family, which includes six children, was injured. The marauders sped away in a high-powered car.

Please write to these courageous people—(address: Route 3, Box 206, Longview, Tex.), and congratulate them on their recent victories at the polls, and assure them of your sympathy in these dangerous (for them) days.

H. K.

How crazy can you get dept.

Sir—In reference to your article about hams coming from Red Poland in cans, there does not seem to be any use in having a government, does there?

We've had an extra amount of flu and virus this year and it could be coming in the uninspected cans from our enemies, the Polish Reds.

How do we know it's ham at all?—Alert Housewife.

Letter to Trenton Evening Times, March 28.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Anon., Trenton, N. J.

It is a honey

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I have just heard the GUARDIAN's new record "The Unforgotten Man." It is a honey. The beauty of it is that it can be played to any audience, even to many a Republican (not Joe McCarthy). I promised to loan one to a Negro minister in the neighborhood . . . maybe we will fill up his church when he plays the record.

Jack Fox

East-West trade

LAKEWOOD, N. J.

A fuller discussion of the question, "Will Expanded East-West Trade Bolster U. S. Economy?" might be of interest. Miss Petran flatly says, "No," and argues that FIRST there must be an "expansion" of the "home market" and also "planning and programming in the U. S. economy."

From this, one might conclude that FIRST there must be socialism in the U. S. As a farmer, I prefer not to wait that long. The U.S.S.R. did not merely offer to buy "some surpluses," but to buy almost the whole surplus butter held at the time, paying the world price.

Since then, Secy. Benson has been "expanding" the home market for butter by selling it to a few big chocolate manufacturers at 25c a pound—a rather slow and costly method. Meanwhile, dairy farmers are seeing their returns go down and down.

For agriculture, it has been the one-third drop in exports that contracted our market. The home market has as yet undergone little change. So, why de we have to wait for the "home market" to expand before I can sell my butter to the Soviet Union? And what if it contracts FIRST?

A Worried Dairy Farmer

Miss Petran said there would be no SUBSTANTIAL expansion of East-West trade until there is an expansion of the internal market. See Victor Perlo, p. 9. Ed.

Counterpart in Canada

VANCOUVER ISLAND, B. C.

As I am a Canadian with deep concern for my country I realize how deeply our two nations are interlocked, not only geographically but culturally and economically. It therefore gives me great concern when the forces of reaction attack American civil liberties because these same forces have their counterparts in Canada.

V. J. Kloster

Teddy knew

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Theodore Roosevelt ran on the Bull Moose ticket against what he called the "malefactors of great wealth." Those malefactors are today ten times as bad as Teddy's time, but now they are called patriots.

R. E. Boe

Wall Street Journal

"We don't need any more taxes!"

Not milk alone

GLASGOW, MONT.

Since you were kind enough to print my letter which contained my wish to become better informed, I have received information from all parts of the U. S. I would like to thank all who sent material.

The collected information is of inestimable value to me which is fortunate because, living on a dairy farm, we are rich only in milk. Since it costs nothing to think and study, I am now rich so far as good reading matter is concerned.

Mrs. Charles W. Cotton

The Pope . . . and others

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Pope has made another appeal for a "peaceful dwelling together of nations" and delivered a solemn warning about "the dangers which the science of genetics foresees as possible" caused by radioactivity from the explosions of thermonuclear weapons. Thus one feels extremely perplexed over the prolonged failure of high-ranking prelates in this country as Cardinal Spellman and Mgr. Sheen to voice, often and vehemently, like appeals and warning. Both prelates are citizens of the country where manufacture, testing and even use of the first atomic bombs originated and are being promoted with fanatical determination.

A. Garcia Diaz

How much of your tax dollar goes for war

CHICAGO, ILL.

Your U. S. Government taxes are high becaues of militarization. Your tax dollar pays 66c for Pentagon "national security" activities. Another 18c is for past wars (veteran benefits and interest on the national debt). Thus war takes 84c, leaving 16c for legitimate government costs, such as aid to agriculture, commerce, labor, education, health, social security and government.

Albert Bofman

	YEARLY (billions of dollars)			WEEKLY (per family of 4)		
U. S. Govt. Expenditures	1938	1950	1956	1938	1950	1956
War Preparations	1	18	41	$ .61	9.00	19.14
Past Wars	1	12	11	$ .61	6.25	5.00
Total War Costs	2	30	52	1.22	15.25	24.14
Non-War Expenditures	5	10	10	3.08	5.00	4.46
All "U. S. Government" Costs	7	40	62	4.30	20.25	28.60
War Preparations as % of All	14%	44%	66%			
Total War Costs as % of All	28%	75%	84%			
Non-War Costs as % of All	72%	25%	16%			

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 7, No. 27 — 178 — APRIL 25, 1955

Albert Einstein

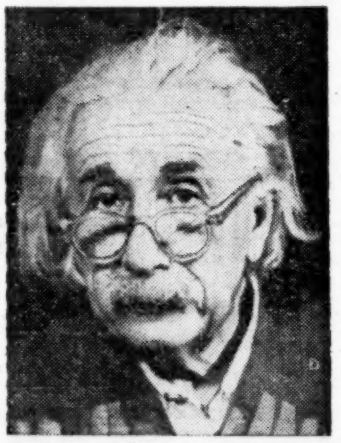
Albert Einstein, one of the great geniuses of all time, died on April 18 at the of 76. Formulator of the theory which later made possible the atomic bomb, after the Hiroshima explosion he called atomic energy "at present not a boon to mankind, but a menace." In 1951 he warned:

"There is no defense against atomic war, and none is to be expected. The attempt to create one would destroy our social fabric, make us slaves to a military machine. . . . You cannot serve two masters—you cannot prepare for war and expect to have peace."

We reprint below an excerpt from "Why Socialism?" an article Einstein wrote for the first issue (May, 1949) of the independent socialist magazine Monthly Review.

HUMAN society is passing through a crisis. . . . The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil. . . .

The result of . . . [the concentration of private capital in a few hands] is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population. Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education).



THE situation prevailing in an economy based on the private ownership of capital is characterized by two main principles: first, means of production (capital) are privately owned and the owners dispose of them as they see fit; second, the labor contract is free . . . [so that] what the worker receives is determined not by the real value of the goods he produces, but by his minimum needs and by the capitalists' requirements for labor power in relation to the number of workers competing for jobs. . . .

Production is carried on for profit, not for use. There is no provision that all those able and willing to work will always be in a position to find employment; an "army of unemployed" almost always exists. The worker is constantly in fear of losing his job. Since unemployed and poorly paid workers do not provide a profitable market, the production of consumers' goods is restricted, and great hardship is the consequence. Technological progress frequently results in more unemployment rather than in an easing of the burden of work for all. The profit motive, in conjunction with competition among capitalists, is responsible for an instability in the accumulation and utilization of capital which leads to increasingly severe depressions. . . .

Unlimted competition leads to a huge waste of labor, and to . . . crippling of the social consciousness of individuals . . . the worse evil of capitalism. . . .

I AM convinced there is only ONE way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done . . . and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society.

—Albert Einstein

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO SALK'S MIRACLE?

Polio vaccine: boon or boom?

By Elmer Bendiner

THE NATION'S PROBLEM last week was how to merchandise a miracle.

The Salk vaccine was pronounced an effective preventative for poliomyelitis which had plagued the world for thousands of years, but in announcing the triumph, Dr. Alan Gregg, vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation, asked: "Will we refrain from bootlegging, cheating, quarreling?"

In a TV interview with CBS commentator Edward R. Murrow, Dr. Gregg warned of "a mad scramble, a black market." He called for some governmental control "with teeth."

Dr. Jonas Salk, who developed the vaccine and declined to patent it, expressed similar fears. At the moment when the nation was showering him with honors, his product had already become big business and financial news commentators talked of a "Salk boom." Trading in the stocks of leading pharmaceutical companies was described as "brisk."

BIG PROFITS IN VIEW: The six companies producing the royalty-free vaccine anticipated increasing their profits up to 79% this year. Eli Lilly & Co., expected to corner about 60% of the market, has been filling orders for the Natl. Polio Foundation since last October; it renovated a five-story building in Indianapolis exclusively for making the vaccine. A company spokesman told the **Wall St. Journal** it had invested heavily in the vaccine and "expects a sizeable return."

Parke Davis & Co., runner-up in the field, put its 16 branches on the job, expanded its Rochester, Mich., laboratories to "double their yield" and estimated its net income would be boosted by $9 million this year. Smaller drug companies making the vaccine are Cutter Laboratories, Allied Laboratories, Inc., the Wyeth divn. of American Home Products and the Sharp Dohme divn of Merck & Co.

MONKEYS' KIDNEYS: The drug companies have an ideal boom product. The Salk vaccine is basically cheap. Its most expensive ingredients are monkeys (needed for their kidneys and as guinea pigs to judge the vaccine's potency). Actual production costs are company secrets but the Polio Foundation—which presumably got the vaccine at only slightly above cost price—paid $1 for three cubic centimeters (three injections) of the vaccine or about 34c per cc. Original marketing plans called for a price of $1 per cc to wholesalers. Druggists would get it for $3.50 for three cc and the patient would pay $4.20 for the set of three.

On April 12, when the vaccine was officially declared effective, the manufacturers quietly announced a price boost tagging the package of three cc at $6 to the patient, a mark-up of at least 600% over cost.

COST TO FAMILIES: In addition, patients will have to pay for each visit to the doctor (varying from $3 to $5), making the total cost to a parent securing his child's safety about $15 to $21 a child. Though Dr. Salk announced that the originally scheduled set of three shots could be reduced to two shots a week apart, and a third booster seven months later, the total costs remain the same. For a family of four, unless the doctor agrees to inoculate several children in one visit, the charges could approximate $100, prohibitive to most families.

The vaccine's production costs are certain to go down as the quantities increase and the yield from each monkey's kidneys is boosted—a process already under way since the costs were originally estimated. The price to the consumer, however, is unlikely to drop as long as the demand is high.

FREE ENTERPRISE FAIR: The high cost of a family's safety may well impair the effectiveness of the vaccine itself. Since the best claim for it to date is 85-90% effectiveness, it could wipe out the disease only if it were used almost universally. In that event those whom it did not render immune would be protected by the scarcity of the disease in the rest of the community. But if the prohibitive cost denies the vaccine to many families, polio may strike not only those who cannot afford the protection but those 15% who may be vaccinated but find the vaccination

It will pinch a little, sis, but it may also save your life.

ineffective in their cases.

Protection against any disease is a community matter but up to last week, for most Americans, it was still the problem of an individual in a free-enterprise country.

The picture looked grim enough if the ordinary business routine of mark-ups and middlemen is followed. The immediate worry was what might happen if a shortage develops before the polio season arrives in July and the demand for protection reaches a frenzy.

61 MILLION SUSCEPTIBLE: It was hard to gauge production. Whole batches of the vaccine scheduled for the market are still to be tested for potency; if found under strength the stockpile would diminish. The best estimates held that from 30 to 45 million people might be given two shots before July. There are over 61 million people in the country under 20 and therefore most susceptible.

An unscrupulous doctor or drug firm could corner a market in any town or county and make a killing. A black market could spring up over night and make the life-guarding vaccine a luxury available only to the rich. To prevent it there is only the "advice" of the big business medical societies against "profiteering," the "moral pressure" on the manufacturers and druggists who even in the open market see the Salk vaccine in terms of "investment" and "return."

Priorities have been set up. The N. Y. State Medical Society, for example, arranged the groups this way in order of susceptibility to polio: (1) ages 5-9; (2) 1-4; (3) 10-14; (4) 15-19; (5) pregnant women; (6) under 1. But except in rare instances there is no way of enforcing such priorities.

The number of children to be given the vaccine free varies widely from one community to another, and in the high excitement following the announcement of the vaccine's success no clear picture could be drawn.

The Polio Foundation had bought up enough to give three doses each to 9 million children nationwide. When it was announced that two shots would suffice this season, with the "booster" to be given seven months later, hopes rose that the foundation's supply would then reach 4½ million more children free of charge before summer.

But foundation president Basil O'Connor announced that the supply of 9 million cc would be turned back to the pharmaceutical companies for distribution through commercial channels. If it reaches the additional 4½ million children it will be at high prices. For the companies it was gravy since they had agreed to sell it to the foundation at cost and would now make a profit on the 4½ million cc.

FREE IN NEW YORK: New York City led the nation in fighting the black market with a Board of Health promise to inoculate free of charge all under 20. Beginning April 25, 281,-000 children in the first two grades of school will get their shots with vaccine supplied by the Polio Foundation. Another 20,000 who were vaccinated during the experiments last year will get their booster at the same time.

Aided by state funds third and fourth grade children will then be inoculated. After that will come the 1-4 age group, then those 10-14, and lastly the older teen-agers, pregnant women and infants.

The question mark was the supply. The Dept. of Health could make no predictions as to how many would receive their shots before the danger season hits the city. Under Section 563 of the City Charter the Board of Health and the Mayor are given wide emergency powers which could be employed to assure an adequate supply.

Elsewhere, Oklahoma took the lead in prompt state action. After a report that private physicians were preparing to charge from $12-$20 for performing the vaccinations, the legislature acted to inoculate free all children up to nine.

Some trade unions promised vaccinations at cost. The Health Insurance Plan of Greater N.Y. said it hoped to begin vaccinating children of subscribers by the latter part of May. HIP's child health administrator Dr. George Rosen told the GUARDIAN that HIP had been planning for the mass inoculations since last fall. It will charge only for the vaccine at the price HIP has to pay for it (still undetermined).

NO ORGANIZED CONTROL: Though leading scientists, including all those who had developed the vaccine, pleaded for some kind of Federal control, the GUARDIAN could find no organization willing to interest itself in the problems.

A Polio Foundation spokesman told the GUARDIAN it had "no authority—no opinion" on control or distribution of the vaccine. He said the foundation was an "instrument of the people" to make the vaccine generally available to the world, that it had ordered quantities of vaccine only to keep the drug companies going until the announcement of the experiment's success, that now it was "not in possession of the problem."

The Welfare and Health Council called the distribution "a somewhat professional matter . . a matter for doctors."

The major political parties took no stand. New York's Mayor Wagner wired the President:

> "I urgently request the establishment of Federal supervisory allocation of the Salk vaccine similar to those set up in the early days of penicillin and gamma globulin."

MRS. HOBBY PLEASED: Gamma globulin provided the handiest precedent: the entire supply was purchased by the Polio Foundation and the Red Cross with distribution controlled by the Office of Defense Mobilization.

President Eisenhower, vacationing in Georgia, ordered Secy. of Welfare Hobby to see "that channels of distribution . . . are kept open." Earlier Mrs. Hobby's office had indicated satisfaction with the situation. White House press secy. Hagerty said the emphasis was on "voluntary" controls.

Sens. Morse (D-Ore.) and Hill (D-Ala.) and Reps. O'Hara (D-Ill.) and Multer (D-N.Y.) spoke out for "drastic action" to prevent a black market; but what that action would be was still unclear.

FEDERAL LAW CITED: A possible answer to the shortage was given in a letter by attorney Arthur Schutzer to Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala.) in which he called attention to Title 42, Section 263b of the U.S. Code Annotated, authorizing the Public Health Service to undertake the manufacture of medicine "not available from establishments licensed" under the section.

Schutzer said that application of the law to the Salk vaccine, which is now "not available" in sufficient quantity, would end the shortage "without delay and without private profiteering."

The distribution answer came from Ontario where Premier Leslie Frost announced that his government would give free injections to every person in the province between the ages of 6 months and 20 years, and would partially underwrite the vaccination of adults.

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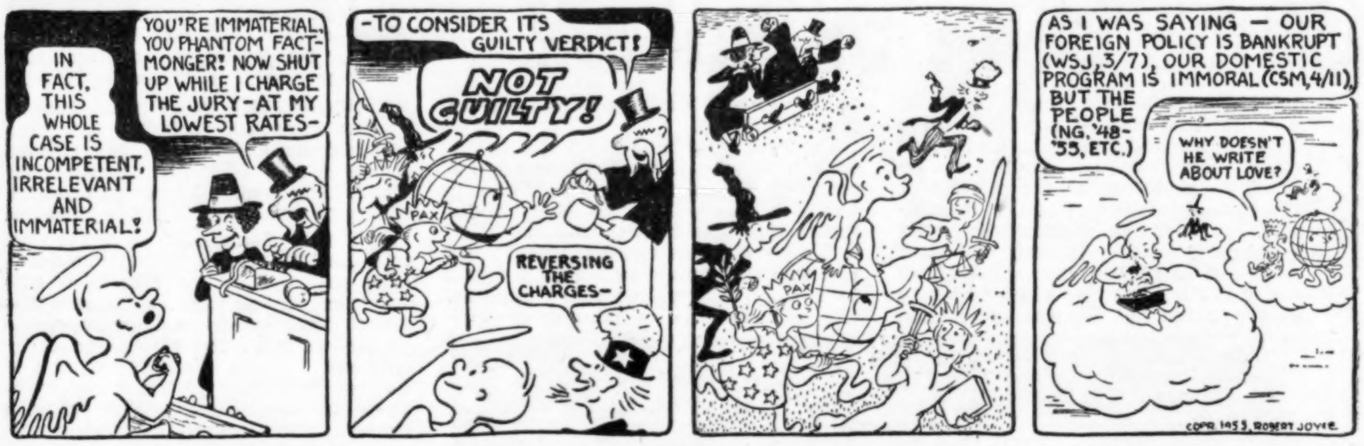
THE GUARDIAN ANGEL — Big money in stocks



Jewish Folk concert May 21

CELEBRATING the 300th anniversary of Jewish settlement in the U.S., a concert by the five choruses of the Jewish Young Folk Singers with guest performers Pete Seeger, Leon Bibb and Earl Robinson, has been announced for Sat., May 21, 8:30 p.m., at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

The program will feature Jewish folk music and a concert version of the recent Phoenix Theatre production, "Sandhog." Tickets are available at the group's offices, 11 W. 18 St., at $1.15, $1.80, $2.50.

Bandoeng Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

affairs, it will then be possible for the people of those countries to choose their own political system and way of life in accordance with their own will."

Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk felt the conference "shatters the frontiers which separated the Communist and non-Communist worlds," and endorsed the Chou-Nehru five peace principles: respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence.

The second day's session began with appeals for peace by Ethiopia and Japan.

"AN EXTRANEOUS SOURCE": The conference was preceded by the crash in the S. China Sea of an Air India Constellation, after it left Hong Kong April 12 carrying 11 Chinese delegates and journalists to Bandoeng. China's Foreign Ministry said it had been aware of a plot to "wreck Indian planes" chartered by Peking and "assassinate members of the Chinese delegation."

The N.Y. **Times** front-paged Washington scoffings at the idea of sabotage, buried in an inside page the statement by three crewmen—the plane's only survivors—that the explosion and fire that caused the crash

"... emanated from an extraneous source wholly unconnected with the structure of the aircraft. . . Up to the moment of the explosion and outbreak of fire the aircraft functioned normally in every respect."

India's Premier Nehru, noting that the plane had sent a routine message ten minutes before it crashed, called for "a full inquiry."

ROMULO SEES "CATASTROPHE": As the conference began, the U.S. press headlined allegations by Secy. Dulles of "Chinese Communist offensive air power build-up" opposite Formosa. To the N.Y. **Times'** Hanson Baldwin (4/19) the statement seemed "part of a psychological offensive" against Bandoeng, since Dulles "presented no facts unknown to U.S. intelligence services [and] the build-up opposite Formosa has been steady . . . but not spectacular." U.S. newspapers, speculating on the conference outcome, played many variations on the theme of the participants' diversity of outlook, stressed the more bellicose speeches.

Though a majority of parley members were pro-West and in some way tied to the U.S., Ambassador Carlos Romulo of the Philippines, irrepressible spokesman for U.S. policy and himself a delegation leader, published a "Warning to Americans" (**This Week,** 4/17), foreseeing action at Bandoeng that "could cause a frightening split in the Free World." He attacked Nehru for promoting "Asian-African neutralism"; mocked the Geneva conference that brought truce to Indo-China, and UN Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold's visit to China; opposed a ban on nuclear tests as "reinforcing Communist propaganda"; praised the U.S. for guiding "peacefully toward self-government or outright independence . . instead of exploiting territories over which it exercised sovereignty."

Romulo wrote that the conference, "ostensibly to promote peace and co-operation," was "ominous" because it might prove to be

"... a conscious, deliberate banding-together of the non-white world against the white . . . Its effects a generation from now may be catastrophic."

THE LOOMING PROBLEM: As the Bandoeng conference discussed peace in Asia, in the U.S. former Democratic Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson added his voice to the rising tide of opposition to U.S. involvement in war over Quemoy and Matsu islands. The voices of protest, however, were exclusively concerned with the off-shore islands, overlooking the key issue of Formosa. The London **New Statesman** (4/16) commented:

"There can be no negotiated settlement so long as the U.S. seeks legal and diplomatic excuses for maintaining strategic control over an island [Formosa] that belongs to China. There may be ways in which the Americans can ease their withdrawal and ensure that the eventual transfer to China takes place with decency and under guarantee. But all such devices . . . must start from the proposition that eventually Washington must wind up its intervention in the Formosa Straits."

Although not openly discussed at Bandoeng, Formosa remained the main obstacle to Asian peace and security. Ceylon's Sir John Kotelewala said Chou had agreed to meet with him, Nehru, Indonesian Premier Sastroamidjojo, Burma's U Nu, Pakistan's Mohammed Ali, the Philippines' Romulo and Thailand's Prince Wan to discuss the Formosa crisis.

A liar is a liar is a liar

AMERICAN judges have just rendered a decision in the Matusow affair which surpasses in adroitness that of the late King Solomon. . . . Whether true or false, Matusow's allegations were no less embarrassing, and the court saw itself caught in the hallucinating sophism of the Cretan Samosthenes. Samosthenes said the Cretans were liars. But he was a Cretan. Therefore he lied. But if he lied, then Cretans are not liars. But Samosthenes was a Cretan. Therefore he was not a liar. But if he was not a liar, the Cretans are liars. Therefore Samosthenes lied, etc. . . .

On reflection, the judges sentenced Matusow to three years in jail—for contempt of court. Which signifies: You did not lie. Therefore you lie—and that is where you lack respect for the court—when you contend that you did not lie. It is not proper for you to go back on your earlier testimony and call it false, because an American court has held it to be true.

Therefore the case will not be reviewed—and that is a comforting conclusion, for there is nothing more demoralizing than a judicial error. At the same time the sentence will be food for thought to false witnesses for whom it is at the same time an appeasement and a warning. They now know that they will not be held to account for their false testimony, but that they expose themselves to severe punishment on the day they might want to rectify it.

And this too is most reassuring for the solidity of social institutions.

—**Liberation (Paris),** March 18

ON MAR. 29, 1955, Joel, 28, Orin, 27, Paul, 26, and Sid Doty, 25, walked past the draft board in St. Paul, Minn., and on to jail for a second time for their objection to war. They are the sons of William N. Doty, a Bruno, Minn., farmer (left). In 1951-52 Joel served two years and the others 18 months for refusing to register for the draft. The new two-year sentences are for failure to report for induction. They say their conscience forbids them to co-operate with war in any sense, even to register as conscientious objectors. In the case of Joel—married with two small children—the Minneapolis **Tribune** said editorially (4/3) that the government's actions were "spitefulness . . . hard to construe as anything but a punitive action taken against a man who has been difficult and uncooperative." When Joel came out of jail a month before his 26th birthday, the draft board reclassified him in an "essential occupation" which raised his draft eligibility age from 26 to 35, then reclassified him 1A to draft him. William Reichert, political science teaching assistant at the Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, is raising funds for the brothers' trials because, he says, "anyone willing to suffer as much as the Dotys for their sincerely-held convictions should be given moral support by those of us who recognize the vindictiveness being exercised against them by society."

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LABOR

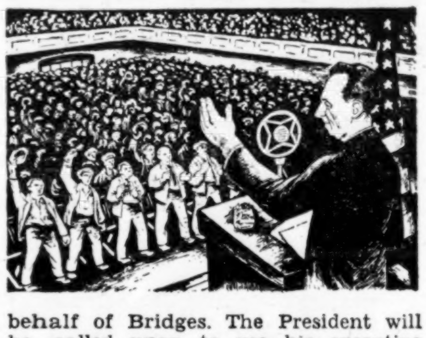
The ILWU is 'not for sale,' Bridges tells his cheering union

THE INDEPENDENT Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union is likely to stay independent, for the time being at least, according to decisions of its 11th biennial convention held early this month at Long Beach, Calif. Founder and president Harry Bridges, commenting on rumors that the union might join another organization or that he himself might retire, had this to say in his opening addres:

"We've considered no negotiations whatsoever with the idea of affiliating with any other labor group. There have been reports that we were running for cover. We're not running for anything to anyone. . . . We're not looking for protection. There's no 'for sale' sign on this union."

For himself, he said:

"Bridges is not going to retire, except the hard way. If you want him out—throw him out."



TRIAL DATE JUNE 20: The 250 delegates, representing 65,000 members on the West Coast, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii, didn't want him out. Together with three other top officers of the union, he was re-elected without opposition.

In addition, the convention made elaborate plans for the defense of Bridges when he is brought to trial on June 20 in a fifth effort by the government to deport him. A delegation was elected to present to President Eisenhower and the UN Commission on Human Rights on June 16 a petition in behalf of Bridges. The President will be called upon to use his executive power to order dismissal of the proceedings. Indefinite stop-work meetings by the membership were authorized to take place simultaneously with the presentation of the petitions. A resolution said:

"We feel that the continued prosecution of this man is a disgrace to our country, its laws and its traditions."

Another delegation from Hawaii was elected to visit the President in behalf of Jack Hall, ILWU regional director in the Islands now under a Smith Act conviction.

THEY'LL FIGHT FIRST: Repressive laws in general and the Butler-Brownell "Communist Control Act" in particular were denounced. On the latter the officers' report noted a tendency of some unions to adjust themselves to such legislation by "changing policies, programs, union structure and union officers in the hope that the attacks will lessen or cease." The ILWU's position was spelled out:

"It could be that one day we'll have to fall back on such policies. But before we'll do that we'll fight; and we'll understand what we're doing when we do it, and at what cost. . . . We must hang onto our refusal to let any government board, politician, judge or agency—or any other force outside the union—determine our policies or lay down the rules for our operation."

A resolution said:

"In such a fight we ask and expect every member of this union—no matter what his belief or his bias—to leave the job and to appear as a solidly united group before any court or government board, if necessary to protect the union."

CAUTION ON MERGER: The coming merger of the AFL and CIO was accepted as "welcome news," but the convention pointed out:

"On the other hand, there is always the danger that the merger document could be used to impose conformity and compliance with government and employer-inspired economic and political policies upon the organized labor movement. Thus the merger agreement has within it the possibilities either of greatly increasing the fighting strength of the rank and file and of opening up a new era of gains and security for labor, or of lacing up that same fighting strength in a political and economic straitjacket. To the extent the rank and file members of the AFL and CIO are able to determine the policies of the developing merger we can be sure that the direction will be militantly democratic and in the interest of the working people."

Bridges reported that talks have been held with leaders of the East Coast Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. looking toward concerted action of the two in bargaining talks with employers. He said there was agreement that "at least the two organizations could work together." The delegates voted to "do everything possible to re-unite in one union all of the shoreside waterfront workers in the East, Gulf Coast, Great Lakes, West, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii."

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE: On political activity the convention said more is needed in the coming year "if the labor movement is to begin to get itself out of the defensive position where we fight simply to stop bad legislation." It was conceded that for the time being labor's political action would have to be expressed mainly through reliance on progressive Democrats, but the resolution added:

"We must be on guard, however, lest our support is forthcoming merely because a candidate carries the Democratic label. Our role must as a union, and as individual union members, continue to be one of independence. . . . We cannot let our trade union strength become a tail to the Democratic Party's kite."

It set as an eventual goal the formation of an independent labor party.

WORLD TRADE PARLEY: The convention emphasized that none of the union's problems, political or economic, could be solved except through the preservation of peace. "A free and expanded world trade without political barrieers" was demanded and it was hoped that "the relaxation of international tensions in the Far East may soon permit . . . lifting of the trade barriers which now prevent legal trade between the U.S. and China." Delegates urged that the State Dept. and U.S. delegates to the UN propose a world conference on trade "to be held at the earliest possible time."

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'A Rebirth of Freedom' — Emergency Civil Liberties Commit

SOME 1,200 persons met on April 16 in New York's Carnegie Hall to assess the state of freedom in the U.S. and plan for its rebirth. They came in answer to a call by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, analyzed separate sectors in five panels during the morning session (see reports below), then came together in the afternoon to hear Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.).

Langer ran a gauntlet of newsmen who heckled him for appearing for the committee, two of whose officers (Corliss Lamont, Harvey O'Connor) had been cited for contempt of Congress. In his address Langer asked reporters to note that "I am delighted and proud and happy to be here. . . . I like brave men. There are too few of them in the United States."

Calling himself an "Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert La Follette Sr., George Norris Republican," he said he was the "only one of that breed in the Senate." He denounced the "great big, greedy, grasping monopolists" seeking to put over the Dixon-Yates deal and making "one inroad after another into the liberties of the people." The Senator closed the conference by warning: "Unless we can continue to enforce the Bill of Rights in our own country, then we are on the downgrade."

FORUM I

Orthodoxy, Heresy and the Individual Conscience

EROSION of the Bill of Rights at its primary point—separation of church and state—and at the most dangerous level for the future of American freedom—the school system—was the main concern of this panel. Mrs. Vashti McCollum, who fought the landmark suit against "released time" religious instruction in the Champaign public schools to victory in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948, reported on the fight still continuing in Illinois. "Released time" prayer, Bible and hymn-singing programs continue, with candy and other lures being used to get children to attend.

In 30 Illinois districts, Mrs. McCollum said, there are only parochial schools in their own district for children to attend; the same condition exists in 20 or more other states. Roman Catholic leaders double-talk skilfully around most of the issues but cite as an argument for extending parochial schools the Protestant proselytizing in public schools—"and they are right. We Protestants cannot combat it unless we ourselves have clean hands." Children are more and more being denied the opportunity to mix freely without stress on sectarian differences.

ROAD TO SPAIN: Dr. Glenn L. Archer, head of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, said POAU is fighting 12 lawsuits in 12 states on the use of public funds for sectarian teaching. The Roman Catholic violations are worse, he said, because of that "one true church's" specific non-acceptance of church-state separation and the appearance of nun and priest teachers in public schools in the habits of their orders. He thought Protestant "released time" violations came from "an excess of zeal," and that Jewish groups had the clearest record. Pointing to countries like Spain as "the end of the road," he said the Roman Catholics, with four million children now in parochial schools, had a $10 billion school program for the next few years.

Dr. Royal W. France, panel moderator, and Rev. Wayne White of New York's Church of All Nations and the Religious Freedom Committee, spoke eloquently on the prophetic religious tradition. On the recent Un-American Activities Committee witch-hunt of the Rev. Jack McMichael, White said it arose out of the attempt by the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action to apply Judeo-Christian teaching to life.

CROSS AND CONSCIENCE: Declaring that Christians "have got the idea that because their leader went to a cross, nobody else need ever go to one," White called on them to consider where they get the "right" they claim to a free conscience. They owed it to the Judeo-Christian prophets from Jeremiah through Jesus to Huss and Wycliffe who "subverted the people" and challenged tyrannical authority to its face; and they would lose it by default unless they patterned themselves on that tradition.

France noted that other worldly religion was not being threatened, only the "free exercise thereof" at the point of translating doctrine into action. He cited the cases of Carl Braden, jailed on $40,000 bail for practising brotherhood in Kentucky; of Alabama's Claude Williams, unfrocked for "heresy"; and of World Fellowship's Dr. Willard Uphaus, who spoke briefly on New Hampshire's attempt to bring him to trial for practising it there.

—Cedric Belfrage

FORUM II

Labor & Livelihood Under Tyranny

RARELY has the current government system of hiring and coaching "professional testifiers" gotten such a devastating going-over as was delivered by Frank Donner at this panel. Donner, attorney and a contributor to **The Nation,** described the Immigration Service, which has kept the stable of witnesses on its payroll, as the "West Point of Informers."

(Almost as he was speaking, Atty. Gen. Brownell in Washington was telling newsmen that the system of paying informers regular salaries was being changed because their status always came out in court and made them appear to be full-time government employes. Hereafter they will be paid only as they are used. But it became known that from mid-1952 to mid-1954 87 informants had been paid a total of $75,000; the three top earners averaged nearly $10,000 each last year. Brownell announced his action after the Immigrations Appeals Board threw out a government deportation case because it couldn't accept the testimony of two of the Service's "consultants.")

"NAMES"—7c APIECE: Donner, dealing with a grimly serious problem, managed to produce repeated laughter as he described how informers live and work and offered some details of their occupational hazards. He told of one character in New York who has compiled a list of "subversives" which he sells to advertising agencies at 7c a name: "after all, it's a living." Informers as a class he described as "spectacularly literary" and reminded the audience of the staggering total of confessionals they have written. He described how each adopts a specialty: Harvey Matusow on youth; Paul Crouch on the armed forces; Herbert Philbrick on professionals; Louis Budenz on the "polburo." All managed to fill in their government pay with extra income from lectures, TV, radio, movies and magazines. He estimated that Budenz has made a total of $100,000 in addition to his salary as a Fordham professor.

One of their major problems, he said, is running out of things to testify about so that they must constantly invent and improvise to keep from working themselves out of a job; he called them "masters of the afterthought" who can always suddenly remember what is needed at the moment.

BLACKMAIL RECRUITING: As a breed he described them as "'betrayers" and said they are not only products of repression but themselves breed further repression. They are all prone to lie, and often coached to lie, because "there is no living just telling the truth." The records and backgrounds of many of them, he said, involve criminality, psychopathology and public nuisances as chronic drunks. Because of such records, he pointed out, the FBI is able to recruit them through the blackmail of threatened prosecution.

The entire system of informers he described as "ugly and treacherous" and called for action to "root out this cancer in our lives."

LABOR IS TARGET: Atty. Norman Redlich spoke on the Fifth Amendment, tracing its historical development and describing the current official distortion of it by automatically inferring guilt from its use.

Dr. J. Raymond Walsh served as moderator.

Comments from the floor emphasized the use of the informer system and the perversion of the Fifth Amendment as weapons primarily directed against the labor movement. Donner agreed and pointed out that the "spy racket has been historically geared to the destruction" of labor. In former times, he noted, labor spies were employed and used through private agencies; now they are recruited and paid by the government.

—Lawrence Emery

THE SUN WAS BRIGHT OUTS

FORUM III

Passports, World Understanding, and The Right to Travel

PROFESSORS H. H. Wilson of Princeton, Derk Bodde of Pennsylvania U. and Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School were introduced at this forum by Constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin, moderator.

In the Middle Ages, said Wilson, passports were issued to royal ambassadors and envoys to indicate their privileged status and to merchants for safe travel. Skilled craftsmen in 16th and 17th century Europe required passports to leave their countries; rulers used this primarily as a control device to keep them home. Stringency reached its peak in the Austria of Metternich, the classical type of police state. But even Austria used greater discrimination than today's U.S.; it did not, for example, prevent the strongly anti-Austrian Beethoven from traveling.

The U.S. had no law about passports before the Civil War; afterwards they were issued for identification of Americans abroad. Today's regulations not only prevent Americans from traveling

THOMAS EMERSON

WILLIAM LANGER

ROSE RUSSELL

LEONARD BOUDIN

HARVEY O'CONNOR

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OUTSIDE CARNEGIE HALL AS THE AUDIENCE GATHERED TO ENTER

abroad but deprive many of their livelihood without due process of law; passports are denied because their travel "would not be in the best interests of the U. S.," although they cannot be prosecuted for any illegal act.

ONE-WAY "INTERCOURSE": Bodde, authority on Chinese civilization, who spent many years both in Kuomintang and in People's China, warned that passport regulations were obstructing cultural exchange necessary for the flowering of civilization. They had prevented, for example, a British authority on the Far East from entering to teach at a U.S. university, and a Chinese economist and teacher—a U. S. resident—from accepting a Canadian university post, presumably for fear that he might go on to China from Canada.

The situation was worse than the known cases indicate, Bodde said, because "passport control prevents many scholars from speaking out for fear of not being able to travel or get Fulbright Fellowships and other scholarships." By allowing only their favored scholars to go abroad, the State Dept. has developed a kind of "isolationism in reverse—we have nothing to learn, but our way of life is to be imposed on others, a one-way cultural intercourse." Passport control is one aspect of the U. S.'s distrust of ideas and of intellectuals. Although travel broadens the mind, Bodde noted that the ideas of "the most-traveled man in the U. S. —Secy. Dulles—have remained rigid, haven't changed at all."

THE DULLES CURTAIN: Discussing the legal situation, Emerson said the Passport Divn. has laid down four conditions under which passports would be denied to 1) present or recent Communist Party members; 2) non-members who support or consistently adhere to its "line"; 3) persons as to whom there is reason to believe they would advance the Communist movement; 4) those whose going abroad would violate U. S. laws, who, though abroad, would violate the security of the U. S.

An applicant denied a passport can file an affidavit whether he is a Communist; if he admits he is, he can take no further steps; otherwise he can ask a hearing from the Board of Appeals, and present pertinent material regarding accusations made by the government but not disclosed to him. The State Dept., however, has not followed these directives; it revoked without a hearing the passports of construction engineer Henry Willcox, author Corliss Lamont and Clark Foreman, director of the ECLC. The recently-retired Passport Divn. chief Mrs. Shipley, in fact, told Emerson she would deny passports to those who would criticize U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Emerson said imposing political restrictions to passports would violate clauses of both First and Fifth amendments. He referred with satisfaction to the Otto Nathan case (Nathan has made a motion that Secy. Dulles be punished for contempt of court because the Appeals Board refused to give him a hearing as directed by the court) and said that favorable decisions in the pending Foreman and Paul Robeson cases would be a great victory for civil liberties.

In the general discussion it was agreed that people should not anticipate rejections but should flood the State Dept. with passport applications —and, Boudin added, if necessary with litigation. Robeson said he has been barred from even going to countries where a U. S. pasport is not required.

—Kumar Goshal

FORUM IV

Conformity versus Creativity in Art and Education

"IF WE ARE to be policed, disciplined and inhibited in our groping for the truth," said moderator Broadus Mitchell, sociology prof. at Rutgers, "we shan't be of any service to anyone and we shall be desperately dull to ourselves."

In this panel the children came into view—fearful, conforming, worried about expressing views which they knew might bring them bad grades and social ostracism. They came into view alongside teachers fearful of expressing views which they knew might cost their jobs.

Mrs. Rose Russell, N. Y. Teachers Union legislative director, characterized this brainwashing process thus: "You pick your scapegoat—in this instance communism—while murder goes on in the back room." She traced the terror in the schools back to the origin of the cold war: "Churchill's speech at Fulton, Mo., in 1946." Since then, she said, "every kind of punishment and cruelty has been visited on our teachers based on the false criteria" developed at that time.

INFORM, OR ELSE: Now, she said, we have reached a point where

> ". . . it is no longer enough to say you are not and have never been. There's a new wrinkle; you are asked about other people. The test of a teacher is whether he is willing to be a stoolpigeon, ready to sacrifice every moral principle. If he is, then he is fit for the schools."

She noted, however, that a recent attempt to direct teachers to inform on their colleagues in New York met with such a storm of protest—"from everyone except the out-and-out McCarthyites"—that the Board of Education was forced to modify its order.

The New York witch-hunt, she said, had eliminated 200 of the most devoted and most creative teachers: there seemed to be a "special kind of magnet the Board of Education is using to eliminate these teachers."

WILL WE PERMIT IT? Speaking on the subject "Must teachers be Informers?" was Mrs. Goldie Watson, one of Philadelphia's most widely respected teachers, who was fired in an inquisition there. She said the question 10 years ago would have been ridiculous,

> ". . . as ridiculous as it would have been to ask: Must teachers be thieves, liars, prostitutes? But it is different today because there are little men in government. They have no statesmanship so they substitute fear, prejudice and bigotry.
>
> "Basically it is a moral question . . . a question of group morality. The question should be: **Will we permit** teachers to be informers? There are thousands who know that morally [the witch-hunt] is wrong. We must cease to approach it as an individual question . . . get back to the place where the whole American people must answer it."

LAMONT'S REVIEW: Dr. Corliss Lamont, Columbia U. lecturer in philosophy and an outspoken champion of civil liberties, reviewed the "ridiculous and outrageous" repressions over the last several years to note "how far we have descended into the pit of violations." Not only are freedom of speech and assembly in peril, he said, but the very jobs of non-conformists. He said:

> "We have not yet known a dictatorship here. We can still meet and talk together and publish—if you have a lot of courage to stand up. We who believe in civil liberties should be battling on the ledge, extending it, till we have restored the Bill of Rights. The tide has turned toward a more sensible attitude in the U. S. I am more hopeful for the future."

Dancer Paul Draper, who was to have spoken on "The Punishment of Independence," did not appear. A long telegram from the producers of a Broadway show in which he is to be featured said "a heavy rehearsal schedule" prevented his coming.

A HOPEFUL AUDIENCE: The forum audience seemed somewhat distressed at the speakers' lack of optimism. One after another the questions took the form of reports of progress and fight-back in little-publicized cases. After a lively exchange, Mrs. Russell said:

> "Today we see not so much a groundswell of protest but the beginning of small fights against the witch-hunt. The McCarthy-Army hearings broke down the terror. Now we move on to defend the right to hold dissenting opinions. How are we going to give our children a chance to grow up in a free atmosphere if teachers are fired for their thoughts?
>
> "We must show people that not only the means [of the witch-hunters] are suspect and must be rejected, but the ends must be rejected as well. We are at the beginning of a real counter-offensive."

—James Aronson

FORUM V

The Politics of Fear

AT the fifth panel Dr. Marynia Farnham discussed "Loyalty Neuroses," which she called an unscientific term for

> ". . . the psychological effects on people of the now overwhelmingly intensive drive to subdue and force total compliance for the entire population to the ideas, opinions and psychoses of a few who have some power and wish to use it in a reckless and aggressive manner."

She listed four types of reaction to this demand for conformity: cringing submission, by those who learned at an early age that was the way to gain approval; "more dangerous" rationalized compliance, which is guided by expediency; straightforward but not particularly aggressive meeting of an attack; and aggressive defiance, practiced by those who had a chance to express opposition in their earlier years.

Stressing that an attack on a person's loyalty "impairs the ability to form an attachment," she warned that unless the attacked individual can find support and some kind of common cause, he may find himself totally isolated. Loyalty attacks may have "disastrous results" for the nation, for

> ". . . no community can long safely interfere with the basic creativity, individuality and power of its members and continue to enjoy a living, growing and developing future [but instead may face] the ultimate reduction to the dead level of mediocrity."

THE NEW INTIMIDATION: Discussing the Louisville "sedition" case, Louis L. Redding, NAACP attorney just returned from arguing the school desegregation case before the Supreme Court, said the prosecutor's power to pervert evidence and obtain convictions to intimidate the majority is not fully realized. Citing Carl Braden's record as a labor editor and the labor activities of three others of the seven indicted in Louisville for defending a Negro's right to live in a "white" neighborhood, Redding charged the aim of Louisville's prosecutor was "intimidation of labor." He said the thinking in Louisville was:

> "It is not necessary to indict Negroes because if they indict whites the Negroes will be so frightened that they will not fight for their civil rights."

Speaking from the floor, Louisville defendant Mrs. Anne Braden feared a threat to desegregation if sedition laws are allowed to continue. She said:

> "In the South sedition means opposition to segregation. McCarthyism has furnished a new kind of weapon to stop segregation because the old weapons like the KKK did not work any longer to divide the Negro people from the white people who want to join with them to build a new kind of society in the South."

WESTERN FIGHT-BACK: Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, a leader in Los Angeles of the Natl. Council of Catholic Women and the Natl. Conference of Christians & Jews, told of the fight-back against the Burns-Chapel bill in the California Legislature. The bill would provide a loyalty oath for barbers and 145 other state-licensed occupations. A caravan of 500 was to visit the Legislature April 19.

In opposition to loyalty oaths printed on all state tax forms, Mrs. Marshall said the Unitarian churches had led lawsuits in three localities, an inter-faith committee had been formed, and hundreds of citizens had refused to sign. She described how a women's group she heads, the Committee for Legislative Action, learned in tangling with the state's witch-hunting Burns Committee that "you don't have to drop dead over a smear." She was confident that

> ". . . the grassroots are stirred out of their apathy at last and California civil liberties are on their way back. [But] you can't leave civil liberties up to the elected representatives of the people . . . and you can't fight for them politely."

Citing the error of non-Jewish professors in Nazi Germany who agreed to the retirement with pension for Jewish teachers because it was "reasonable," writer Dan Gillmor said we must have both reason and the emotional concept of fair play to fight for civil liberties. Moderator I. F. Stone said that once the government established CP membership as a crime in the cases of Junius Scales or Claude Lightfoot, "there is not a single liberal in the U. S. who could not be put through the wringer."

—Ione Kramer

CONSCRIPTION

The time is now to write on UMT

EFFORTS to introduce universal military training—a peacetime conscription system universally opposed in this nation since its birth—have been kept alive by the American Legion ever since World War I. Under the Truman administration its advocates made an entering wedge; Congress adopted a measure endorsing UMT in principle but left it to a future Congress to spell it into being.

The future Congress is now with us. On March 28 a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee endorsed a program to build a 2,900,000-man "combat-ready" military reserve. The plan was carefully drafted, cautiously worded to suggest it was based upon "voluntary" enrollment. But with the Selective Service Act already ex-

News-Sentinel, Fort Wayne, Ind.
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tended for another four years, young Americans would be faced only with the "voluntary" choice of what kind and duration of service to enter. Few, if any, could choose NOT to get into the armed forces.

CLOSE VOTE SEEN: All U.S. labor, farm, church and educational organizations have traditionally—at times energetically—opposed any kind of UMT; but the present bill was so handled that little opposition was stirred up. On April 11 the Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers) sent this warning to all it could reach:

> "We expect the House Armed Services Committee to decide on the final form of the compulsory reserve-UMT bill soon after April 18. We urge opposition to any compulsory reserve plan and to any form of UMT by whatever name it is called. It looks now like an extremely close vote in the committee. One vote might decide this question."

The Friends' letter points out that two committee members—Reps. Lester Holtzman (D) and W. Sterling Cole (R), both from New York—have indicated support of the worst features of the UMT legislation, and says:

> "Our suggestion is that you write a letter in your own words to Rep. Holtzman and one to Cole, urging each to oppose any compulsory reserve program and any type of a UMT program in view of the expressed desire of the Dept. of the Army to increase the numbers of men participating and to make it compulsory. Address them at the House Office Bldg., Washington 25, D.C."

In addition, write to your own Senators and Representative.

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—Judge Harold Medina, speaking in New Mexico, as reported in the Albuquerque (N.M.) Journal, Apr. 2.

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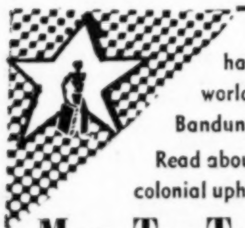

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CALENDAR

Chicago

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MAY DAY LABOR RALLY, Sun., May 1, 2 p.m., Milda Hall, 3140 South Halsted St. Adm: 50c. Hear **LEO KRZYCKI**, Claude Lightfoot, and nationally prominent speaker to be announced.

Labor Youth League's **Labor Day Cabaret Dance.** Sat., April 30, Mittleman Center, 2733 W. Hirsch. Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments. Adm: 50c. 8:30 p.m.

Los Angeles

FIESTA de CINCO de MAYO. May 6, from 8 p.m., at the Armenian Educational Hall, 1407 So. Eastern Av. Join us in this Celebration of Mexico's independence day. See and hear talented artists present the culture of Mexico through authentic Mexican music, regional dances, and genuine national decor. Enjoy Mexican delicacies. $1 per person. Ausp.: Los Angeles Comm. Protection of Foreign Born.

A REMINDER: MARTIN HALL, author and lecturer, analyzes the news every Monday night, ASP office, 509 N. Western, 8:30 p.m. Admission: 50c.

RESERVE SUNDAY, JUNE 5! Come to our Festival of Nationalities. It's Exciting! It's Different! At the NEW and beautiful location. Spacious grounds—Huge Dancing Pavilion, Croatian National Assoc., 11621 Budlong Av. We need: Nationality Talent, Nationality Dishes, Handicrafts and works of art. Contact us NOW! MA 5-2169. Ausp: L. A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, Far East events analyst, author "People's of the USSR," "The Chinese Conquer China," speaks Fri., May 6, 8 p.m., on "**CHINA, U.S. & WORLD CRISIS.**" Adm. $1. 2936 W. 8th St., ½ blk e. of Vermont Av. **UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.**

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NEW YORK

What East-West trade could do for jobs in State

Expansion of East-West trade is a key plank in any program for U. S. economic betterment. As the GUARDIAN showed (3/4), socialist countries' internal markets are expanding as industrialization increases productivity, and hence can absorb substantial exports from the capitalist world. But trade is a two-way proposition; if there is to be real expansion, the U. S. must buy the socialist countries' goods and/or grant them substantial credits. W. Europe's exports to these countries rose 21% in 1954, its imports from there only 3%. This suggests the difficulties created by the fact that capitalist-world internal markets are not expanding.

Agriculture Secy. Benson indicated (4/5) that the Administration now favors selling the U. S. S. R. some farm surpluses in exchange for strategic materials. A year ago the U. S. S. R. appeared to want such an exchange. Whether it would still do so is a question. Its exports of gold, silver and platinum to the West have declined recently, and its emphasis on heavy industry has grown. In this and a forthcoming article on California, economist Perlo shows the job opportunities which could be opened up over a period of time if the U. S. were to make a real effort to develop East-West trade.

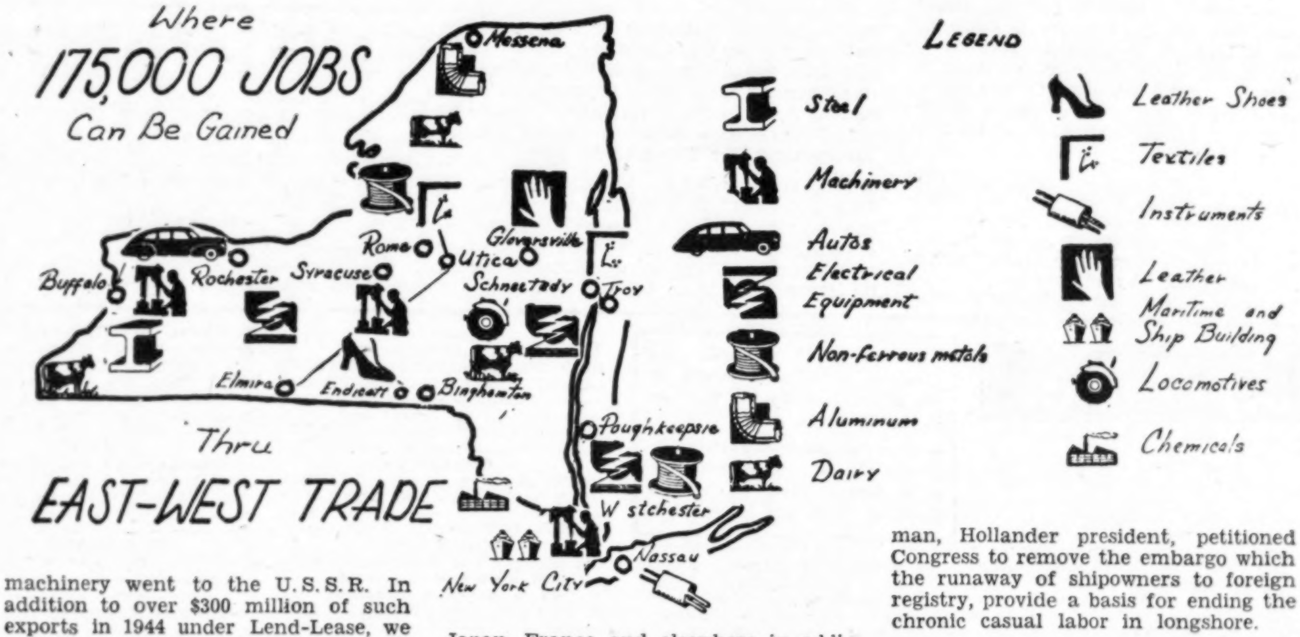
By Victor Perlo

THE army of men and women without jobs is ominously growing in New York State. In early February there were 3% more claimants for unemployment insurance than a year ago. Since tens of thousands have exhausted benefit rights, the actual increase is much more; total unemployment, therefore, exceeds the ALP's estimate of 600,000 in February, 1954.

Labor Dept. classifications as of January show only Rochester with a "balanced" labor supply. There are "moderate" surpluses in New York, Binghamton and Syracuse, "substantial" ones in Buffalo, Albany-Schenectady-Troy, Utica-Rome and three smaller towns, and "very substantial" in Amsterdam, Auburn, and Gloversville. N.Y. City will join the critical areas in fact if not in title when the current garment season ends late this spring. Employment is below year-ago levels almost everywhere, including the aircraft-manufacturing center of Long Island. In the important Mohawk Valley industrial area unemployment has already reached 15%, and may exceed 20% soon (N.Y. Times, 2/7).

MUTUAL PROSPERITY: More than one-third of the country's foreign trade passes through New York harbor. The State Dept. estimated that in the slump year 1949 over 250,000 N.Y. State workers owed their jobs to foreign trade, "and their employment in well-paid jobs contributes to the prosperity of all the citizens of the State."

A recent ALP study shows that ending the embargo on East-West trade could mean 175,000 jobs for N.Y. State workers, almost enough to wipe out the increase in unemployment since 1953. Here are the possibilities in some key industries (employment figures shown are for Dec., 1954).



Electrical equipment

(146,000 workers employed in N.Y. City, Schenectady, Buffalo, Syracuse, Rochester, and Westchester—10% fewer than a year earlier.)

The GE decentralization program hits Schenectady workers hard. They kept working during the 1930's making turbines and generators for the Dnieper Dam. From 66 to 91% of total U.S. exports of generators, motors, and transformers went to the U.S.S.R. in 1931. In 1944, under Lend-Lease, we sent the U.S.S.R. $321 million in electrical equipment, engines, turbines and parts.

Peacetime potentials for electrification of China, Poland, etc., in addition to the U.S.S.R., are still greater. In 1949, GE began to ship power plants to China before the embargo was clamped down. William Herod, president of Intl. General Electric, spoke highly of the business then. In March, 1954, he urged relaxation of the embargo, saying "contact and intercourse in the non-strategic field . . . could lead to a more peaceful outlook" (Journal of Commerce, 3/18/54).

Industrial machinery

(137,000 workers in N.Y. City, Syracuse, Buffalo, Binghamton, Utica-Rome, Elmira, Poughkeepsie—9% fewer than a year earlier.)

In 1931 from 68 to 90% of U.S. exports of farm and major industrial machinery went to the U.S.S.R. In addition to over $300 million of such exports in 1944 under Lend-Lease, we sent $116 million of industrial machinery to the U.S.S.R. and $10 million to Poland in 1946, when relations were already strained.

In a 1953 interview with Marshall MacDuffie, Soviet trade officials put farm and industrial equipment at the top of the list of desired purchases in the U.S., especially noting food industry machinery in which N.Y. State leads the country.

Transport equipment, excluding aircraft

(53,000 workers—off 15% from a year ago. Shipbuilding off 22%; railroad equipment, 66%.)

Shipyard workers are centered in N.Y.C., railroad equipment in Schenectady; auto workers in Tarrytown, Rochester, and Buffalo. All these products figured heavily in wartime lend-lease shipments to the U.S.S.R.

Today ships lead all other products in W. Europe's exports to the U.S.S.R. There are also huge potentials for export of trucks and railroad equipment, especially to China.

Primary metals

(77,000 workers—off 11% from year ago—in Buffalo [steel], N.Y.C., Rome, Westchester, Buffalo [non-ferrous metals], Massena [aluminum].)

In 1944 we sent to the U.S.S.R. 261 million pounds of copper products, 318 million of aluminum products, 259 million of brass mill products, in addition to hundreds of thousands of tons of steel. In 1946 we sent 100,000 tons of steel and 27 million pounds of copper to the U.S.S.R., and in 1950, over $5½ million of steel to China.

The socialist countries are getting such commodities in rising quantities from W. Germany and Japan.

Leather and products

(63,000 workers—about the same as a year ago: the decline came earlier—in N.Y.C., Endicott and Johnson City, Gloversville.)

1944 exports to the U.S.S.R. came to $46 million, or 69% of the total. 1946 exports to socialist countries were still substantial.

Owing to the embargo, the U.S. has fallen behind Britain in the leather trade, while leather is imported to socialist countries in trade agreements with Argentina, India, and W. Europe.

Chemical industries

(75,000 workers—off slightly—centering around N.Y.C.)

China was traditionally a major market for U.S. caustic soda. The socialist countries are a huge potential market for U.S. drugs, especially the newer types, which they now get from Japan, France and elsewhere in addition to their own manufacture.

Apparel industries

(356,000 workers—off 6%—mainly in N.Y.C. and Rochester.)

The workers would benefit primarily indirectly from East-West trade, in terms of larger clothing purchases by workers in other industries who get jobs.

In the case of the especially-depressed fur industry, the need for East-West trade is obvious. Important types of furs from the U.S.S.R. and China are embargoed; and London has replaced New York as the world's fur capital. A. Hollander & Sons, world's largest fur company, has sold or listed for sale four U.S. plants with almost 1,000 workers, while its Canadian and French plants, getting Soviet furs, have experienced record business. A. Feldman, Hollander president, petitioned Congress to remove the embargo which causes "the strangulation of our own American fur industry."

Maritime industries

(About 67,000 workers in N.Y.C.)

Tens of thousands of seamen's jobs have been lost, while most longshoremen are unable to obtain steady work. In 1946 51.4% of our trade with socialist countries went through the N.Y. customs district. If trade is developed with socialist on the same scale as with capitalist countries, this would create jobs for at least 40,000 N.Y.C. maritime workers. It would restore thousands of seamen's jobs lost through the runaway of shipowners to foreign registry, provide a basis for ending the chronic casual labor in longshore.

Agriculture

(173,000 farmers and farm workers in 1950.)

Dairying leads in N.Y. State farming, accounting for half of the value of farm products, and second in importance only to Wisconsin. The decline in foreign trade is one of the important reasons for the drop in dairy farmers' incomes. U.S. exports fell 75% in the six years ending 1952. Exports of dairy products to the socialist countries totaled $58 million in 1946, mainly under UNRRA.

Last year the U.S.S.R. offered to buy for cash a larger value of U.S. butter alone. The Administration refused to sell. N.Y. and other dairy farmers were the losers—the U.S.S.R. purchased instead larger quantities from Scandinavia. Opening of East-West trade could double dairy exports.

"THREAT TO ALL TEACHING"

86 notables protest government move to force Jefferson School to register

SOME 86 educators, ministers, lawyers, writers and professional leaders from all parts of the country last week declared their opposition to a recommendation that the Subversive Activities Control Board order the Jefferson School of Social Science to register as a "Communist front organization."

The school, a Marxist educational center for working people" in New York City founded in 1944, has been contesting for two years the U.S. Attorney General's petition to have the SACB order the institution to register under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

SACB Chairman Thomas J. Herbert made public 28 individual letters and a signed general statement taking issue with his claim that "academic freedom is not involved" in the Jefferson School case. The statement described the recommended action as a threat to "all freedom of teaching in the realm of social, political and economic theory."

The SACB on April 15 heard atty. Harry Sacher declare that "if there is any one case on which the McCarran Act is doomed to break, it is the case of the Jefferson School." The board's final decision, if it issues a registration order, will be appealed.

Sacher concluded his appeal:

"If you hand down a registration order, history—if it takes note of you—will compare you to King Canute, for you will be trying vainly to stop the forward march of thought."

CUT BRADEN'S BAIL!

Letters are urged to Judge L. R. Curtis, Criminal Court, Louisville, Ky., asking Carl Braden's bail be cut. On March 18, Judge Coleman Wright of the Kentucky Appeals Court said that "half the [$40,000] would suffice," but added the decision was up to Judge Curtis.

Soviet-Austria pact

(Continued from Page 1)

jected terms results less from such new concessions as Moscow made, than from popular pressure from below and the slow shift of world power balance toward the socialist states. Deep dissatisfaction among Austrians over "what they call the inflexibility of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union" regarding the treaty (N.Y. **Times,** 11/20) has been frequently reported in the past year.

"The guarantees for strict neutrality and against another Anschluss," wrote the **Christian Science Monitor** (4/15), "are certain to meet the wholehearted approval of the vast majority of Austrians." But it is just these guarantees which the West opposes, since it fears a "neutralist" solution—that is, real independence for Austria—will give new impetus to the fight against W. German rearmament. **NYT** (4/16) complained that the agreement makes Austria

> ". . . part of a neutral belt in which the Soviets seek to include both Yugoslavia and Sweden . . . [is] designed to appeal to all the neutrality sentiment in Germany and France . . . [and] might still prevent the implementation of the Paris Pacts even after ratification."

W. Germany saw the agreement as "a definitive diplomatic victory in the East-West struggle [which] reinforces the viewpoint that the Bonn Government must itself seriously consider negotiating with Moscow as soon as the Federal Republic is sovereign" **(CSM,** 4/15). In a country where Chan-

cellor Adenauer himself admits "nine out of ten young Germans object to any form of military activity" **(Saturday Evening Post,** 4/16), opponents of rearmament were "jubilant," while the Government suffered "deep embarrassment" **(NYT,** 4/16 & 17).

WANTED — 2-WAY CONCESSIONS: The successful Soviet-Austrian talks came on the heels of Moscow's decision to abrogate its alliance with Britain and France; they were followed by its threat to take to UN Washington's accelerating effort to bring all the Middle East into its military alliance network. (Last month the Strategic Air Command established a new bomber base at Adana, Turkey, 25 minutes flying time from a Soviet fighter airfield and 1,300 miles closer to Soviet borders than its hitherto forwardmost bases in N. Africa.)

These moves underscored the warning to the West contained in Molotov's speech last February. Molotov emphasized that while the U.S.S.R. remains ready to make concessions in the interests of peaceful settlement, its policy is based on political as well as military strength, and can, and will be, firm if its concessions are not met half-way. The Soviet press, noting that ratification of W. German rearmament "will fundamentally alter the situation," commented:

> "Negotiations of one kind or another will always be possible, of course, but not on the same issue and not with the same parties."

Disarmament parley in Chicago

A "CONFERENCE on Effective Disarmament and World Development," sponsored by 16 Midwest organizations, will meet all day Sat., April 30, at Chicago's Hotel Sherman.

Sen. Flanders (R-Vt.) will address the morning session at 10 a.m. on "American Responsibility for World Disarmament and Development." A panel of representatives from labor, business and science will discuss "Have We Lived Up to That Responsibility?"

Round-table discussions at 2:30 p.m. will cover: "Atoms for Peace," led by Charles F. Boss Jr., exec. secy., Methodist Board of World Peace; "UN Charter Revision," led by John R. Minor, exec. director, Illinois United World Federalists; "Rôle of Voluntary Organizations to Build Public Understanding," led by Mrs. Robert W. Maynard, exec. director, Amer. Assn. for the UN, Illinois branch. At 4 p.m. Dr. Gunnar Randers, UN representative to the Intl. Atomic Energy Agency, will speak on "Conditions Necessary to Achieve Effective Disarmament and World Development."

Sponsors, in addition to groups already mentioned, are: Atomic Scientists of Chicago, Church Fedn. of Greater Chicago; American Friends Committee, Natl. Assn. of Jewish Women's Clubs, Natl. Council of Jewish Women, Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom, YWCA, Chicago Ethical Society.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

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HIGHLIGHTS OF WESTERN ART. Lectures, illustrated with color slides. Lecturer: Alice Dunham (Mrs. Barrows Dunham). Thurs., April 28, 8:30 p.m.: "Light and Color in France—Manet and the Impressionists." Tuition: $1 per session.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "MACBETH," April 22-24, with Orson Welles directing and playing the title role. Remember his "Julius Caesar" in the days of the WPA Theater Project? Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: "SADKO."

THIS SUNDAY, APRIL 24, 8:15 P.M. CARL MARZANI, politico-analyst, talks on "Neurosis in the State Dept." At ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Contribution: 60c.

East N.Y. Emma Lazarus Club, 608 Cleveland St., B'klyn, invites all friends to celebrate MOTHER'S DAY, Sun., May 1, 8:30 p.m., with concert by Al Moss. Free flowers for all women. Cont. 50c.

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SPRING BAZAAR! Fri., April 22, 7-11 p.m. Sat., April 23, noon-11 p.m. Sun., April 24, 2-10 p.m. Glassware, hats, jewelry and beautiful gifts for Mother's Day. Auspices: Village A.L.P., 28 Greenwich Av.

SUNDAY FORUM. "Lessons from Makarenko and Pavlov on Child Development," with William Karlson. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. April 24, 8:30 p.m. $1.

MAY DAY ADDRESS. Sat., April 30, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. "American Labor and the War Against China." Speaker: V. Copeland. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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—New York Diary, Australian Telegraph.

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350,000 kids sing glory of free enterprise

DURING March many N. Y. C. students from grade 7 through the high schools had to come up with answers to "How Free Enterprise Has Helped to Make America Great," topic of the annual prize essay competition jointly sponsored by the Board of Education and the N. Y. Chamber of Commerce.

Essays are to be judged by a "reading committee" of teachers on: "The extent to which the writer appreciates the significance of the topic," as well as his ability to convey the message.

About 150 winners will get prizes from $5 to $15. The $2-$3,000 a year prize money comes from a grant left to the Chamber in 1918 by A. Barton Hepburn, a banker. The Board of Education has participated since 1922.

Claiming there "has never been any ulterior motive," a C of C spokesman said this year's "free enterprise" theme is "the first topic even relating to business." Others have been on subjects like voting and civil defense. The C of C says the Board of Education chose the topic from a group of 15 selected jointly. A Board spokesman said the 15 suggestions are submitted to the C of C and "their [C of C's] decision is final."

LOADED QUESTION: The Board denied that all students had to enter the contest, but principal Donald T. Charlton of P. S. 41, Queens, where the project is already under way, said that participation as part of regular classroom work was at the discretion of the individual classroom teacher. Speaking with the GUARDIAN, some Queens parents expressed concern about an essay on the "loaded question," but no formal protest has been launched.

One parent told how, when her son was assigned a similar essay on civil defense two years ago, the child chose as his theme an engraving on a local Friends' meeting house: "The best defense is peace." The teacher graded the boy a failure on the essay because he didn't keep to the subject, but the failure was retracted after the parent protested.

The Chamber of Commerce says that about 350,000 essays are written each year, which is close to the total number of students in the grades eligible.

Cost to the C of C to set 350,000 young minds to work on benefits of "free enterprise": less than a tenth of a cent apiece.

APPLIED RELIGION

They live in the world

RETURN TO REALITY, a collection of essays on contemporary Christianity by "six most unusual clerics, a barrister and a professor of philosophy," is described by Kenneth Leslie's Canadian monthly **New Christian** as "one of the most exciting books we have read in years." GUARDIAN readers interested in religion, but skeptical of those who speak in its name in the U. S., are likely to agree with Leslie's appraisal. The book, he writes, not only "initiates a crucial work of prophecy for our times" but is "a handbook for those who have been irritated beyond measure by the Barths, Brunners and Niebuhrs—those arrogant theologians who, through reiteration and improper use of the Bible, have shut God off from man . . . cynically and satanically hurling poison darts at the children of men who are painfully pushing their way out of an age-long misery on to a plateau of abundant life."

The contributors include the Rev. Edward Charles on science and Christianity; philosopher John Lewis analyzing Kierkegaard and the "crisis theologians"; the Dean of Canterbury on the U. S. S. R.'s influence on Christian thought; and the Rev. Stanley Evans, vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Dalston, London, who also edited the book (published by Zeno, 6 Denmark St., London WC 2, England; $3). —C. B.

3 TO 8 P. M.

May Day rally Fri., April 29

FOLLOWING a series of delegations and pleas by mail, the N.Y.C. Park Dept. last week granted a permit to the "Provisional Workers and People's Committee for May Day 1955" to hold the traditional May Day rally from 3-8 p.m. on Friday, April 29, in Union Sq.

Authorities earlier had denied a permit for any time on the week-end, on grounds that the Square had been booked solid by business groups.

FOUGHT FOR RENT CONTROLS

Abrams stands out in Albany regime

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

STATE Rent Administrator Charles Abrams distinguished himself by a steady, outspoken and aggressive fight for effective rent controls during the legislative session just ended. He tangled not only with the Republican pleaders for the real estate interests, but also with some influential Democrats who were ready to make a bi-partisan deal for legislation that would take the skin off tenants' hides.

The N. Y. **World-Telegram** (4/1) put it bluntly: ". . . The Democrats were not altogether happy about their partial victory. Mr. Abrams' onslaught has ruined the pattern of compromise and scuttled many private little deals based on weakening rent control."

LABOR WAS TOO LATE: Organized labor swung into action much too late to be effective. It was not until March 28, five days before the session's adjournment date, that the N. Y. State CIO held its emergency meeting on state legislation. Earlier and sustained activity, including visits by labor delegations to legislators in N. Y. C. and in upstate communities, could have won real improvements in the rent control law. The March 28 meetign unfortunately emphasized demands for a later special session of the Legislature rather than insisting that the session be continued until needed bills were passed. As a result, there was a flurry of headlines about a special session—but it is now quite clear that no such event is in prospect, and the do-nothing regular session has gone home.

Tenant organizations, although outnumbered by landlord representatives at the Feb. 9 public hearing in Albany, nevertheless showed alertness to the key issue of rent control very early in the session and continued to fight all the way through, constituting one of the few lobbies to the capitol this year. Republican Asembly Leader Joseph F. Carlino, who led the drive to cripple rent controls, allowed the real estate mouthpiece to dominate the Feb. 9 hearing.

ONE PUBLIC HEARING: Commissioner Abrams asked for, and got, a lot of TV time to push his fight. But Democratic legislative leaders, normally eager for TV appearances, suddenly exhibited cool indifference to TV programs on rent control.

As in other years, only a single public hearing—and that in Albany—was held on rent control. This time, the failure to hold hearings in other cities was especially indefensible, since thousands of tenants facing decontrol in upstate counties have never had a chance to express their views locally.

Republicans and Democrats saw eye-to-eye in cutting budget funds for rent control enforcement. Gov. Harriman's original budget proposed a cut of $200,000 for the State Rent Commission. Later, this reduction was modified to $150,000—and approved by a bi-partisan vote.

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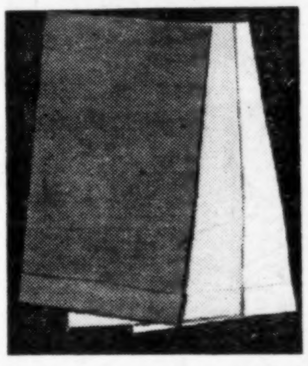

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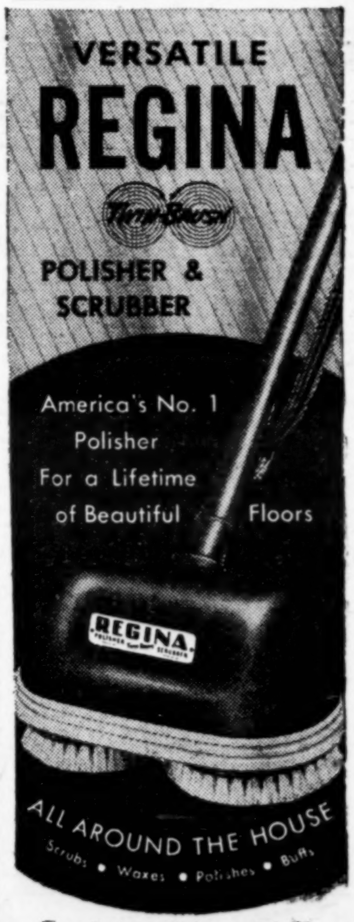

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the SPECTATOR

All for Juan

The following is an account of the imaginary South American republic of Ambrosia, done after the manner of Time magazine's articles on such countries.

LIFE WAS GOOD LAST WEEK in tiny, banana-growing Ambrosia and for big, genial, toad-faced President Juan X. (for nothing) Bussard the day began with the customary tour of his domain.

As toiling peasants in the banana groves warmly cheered him on his way (some exhibiting crude, picturesque signs reading "We Want Bread"), President Bussard wheeled his gold-plated Mercedes-Benz through the lush countryside. Fifteen thousand armed guards, their handsome uniforms agleam, lined the route, occasionally bayonetting over-zealous admirers of "The Boss."

La Vie Ouvriere, Paris

INDEPENDENCE DAY

Well might strong man Bussard smile (see cover) as he observed progress on every side. In the capital itself several new skyscrapers offered testimony to the combination of Ambrosian democracy and American know-how.

Neary completed was the giant new 40-story Censors building to house his vigilant watchdogs of the nation's press.

Beyond it loomed the bulk of the new Political Prisoners' building where 125,000 enemies of the state attest to President Bussard's fearless war against subversives.

In the city's main plaza stood the solid marble statue of "Liberty," gift of great and good friend Francisco Franco.

AFTER many a trial and trouble and personal sacrifice (he was forced to order the execution of his mother and four brothers in last year's attempt to overthrow the government), Bussard had found himself at long last with a steady economy.

New contracts with a U.S. banana company assured him not only of a 50-50 profit cut, but had cleared the way for the loan of two squadrons of U.S. jet fighters to protect the country from invasion and internal squabbles.

A man of simple, back-country tastes whose importation of U.S. jazz bands and champagne baths are looked upon by his subjects as harmless personal whims, President Bussard rules little Ambrosia with a hard-fisted style of command that has earned him the respect of the considerable American colony.

His credo is apple pie simple.

"We must give the people the government that is suited for them," said he last week. "An election by vote in Ambrosia would lead to chaos and a victory for Moscow which has long eyed our banana reserves with envy. There must be a leader unhampered by the need to win public support. We cannot afford that luxury in Ambrosia."

With the well equipped, well-paid army (the new officers' mess has 11 swimming pools, four polo fields and two 18-hole golf courses) Bussard is well prepared to put down the occasional revolt of party-line unions in the banana fields.

To do-gooders who protest that the banana workers are modestly paid (60 cents a day for a 12-hour working day) "The Chief" has a characteristic reply: "The figures are misleading, inspired by foreign agents. The workers are allowed to take home all the bananas they can eat."

AMBROSIA's plans for the future are bold. Peasant-owned land is being quietly expropriated for the extension of the U.S. banana company's holdings on the sound business principle that without American capital and know-how the country's economy could well falter. Says shrewd President Bussard: "We are learning slowly, but steadily, the lessons of free enterprise."

Socially life is pleasant in Ambrosia. President Bussard's friends and advisors, aided by new and generous laws which increase legitimate graft from 30 to 78 per cent, live in luxurious country homes, fly their airplanes, gossip at the new country club on the capital's outskirts, dine in low-cut Dior gowns (see cut). Gobelin tapestries, Sevres vases and Tiffany clocks add sumptuous touches.

Occasionally this select group is thinned by the quiet disappearance of one of "The Boss'" circle of advisors who has revealed ambitions for power. Says hard-headed humor-loving President Bussard: "One bad banana can ruin the bunch."

In a world which often seems hostile to U.S. interests little Ambrosia stood last week as a shining example of a good neighbor who will go down the line.

Said kindly John Foster Dulles, last week awarded Ambrosia's coveted Star of Merit: "We aren't worried about Ambrosia."

JACK SCOTT in his column Our Town, Vancouver (B. C.) "Sun"

Do your Mother's Day shopping through Guardian Buying Service